

PERCEPTIONS OF AN OSAKA FATHER: HOW REGIONAL DIALECT
INFLUENCES IDEAS ON MASCULINITY AND FATHERHOOD

by

SARA KING

A THESIS

Presented to the Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures
and the Graduate School of the University of Oregon
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Master of Arts

June 2019

THESIS APPROVAL PAGE

Student: Sara King

Title: Perceptions of an Osaka Father: How Regional Dialect Influences Ideas on
Masculinity and Fatherhood

This thesis has been accepted and approved in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the Master of Arts degree in the East Asian Languages and Literatures by:

Dr. Kaori Idemaru	Chairperson
Dr. Cindi SturtzSreetharan	Member
Dr. Zhuo Jing-Schmidt	Member

and

Janet Woodruff-Borden	Vice Provost and Dean of the Graduate School
-----------------------	--

Original approval signatures are on file with the University of Oregon Graduate School.

Degree awarded September, 2019

© 2019 Sara King

THESIS ABSTRACT

Sara King

Master of Arts

East Asian Languages and Literatures

June 2019

Title: Perceptions of an Osaka Father: How Regional Dialect Influences Ideas on Masculinity and Fatherhood

In this current research, we aimed to examine the authenticity of a hands-on father's Osaka dialect in Kore'eda's 2013 film *Soshite Chichi ni Naru* and explore whether native Japanese listeners would perceive him to have those caregiving qualities. The results of a dialect recognition survey indicated ambiguity in the authenticity of the Osaka dialect and that the Osaka dialect-speaking father sounded more non-Standard especially when he spoke in scenes with a Tokyo dialect-speaking father. Next, the results of a series of qualitative interviews showed that the Osaka dialect did project the image of a masculine, dedicated father while also that of a stubborn man of low social status that might not be a good husband. These findings align with a previous discourse analysis and provides new evidence on the ability of Osaka dialect in media to signify an affective, hands-on father as opposed to a cold, distant, Tokyo dialect-speaking father.

CURRICULUM VITAE

NAME OF AUTHOR: Sara King

GRADUATE AND UNDERGRADUATE SCHOOLS ATTENDED:

University of Oregon, Eugene

DEGREES AWARDED:

Masters of Arts, Linguistics and Pedagogy, 2019, University of Oregon

Bachelors of Art, Linguistics, 2017, University of Oregon

Bachelors of Art, Japanese, 2017, University of Oregon

AREAS OF SPECIAL INTEREST:

Sociolinguistics

Phonetics

Second Language Acquisition

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

2018~2019 Japanese Graduate Teaching Assistant, East Asian Languages and Literatures, University of Oregon

Summer 2018 Research Intern, Graduate School of Education, Waseda University

2018~2019 Senior Office Assistant, American English Institute

Summer 2016 English Teacher, English Global Village, Dankook University

2015~2019 English Conversation Partner, American English Institute

2014~2017 Research Assistant, East Asian Languages and Literatures, University of Oregon

ACADEMIC SERVICE

- Jan. ~ Apr. 2018 Graduate student member of East Asian Languages and Literatures
Department Diversity Committee
- Jan. ~ Apr. 2018 Organizer of a Japanese language circle (PeraPera Nihongo) for
learners to practice speaking Japanese outside of class

PRESENTATIONS

King, S. *Perceptions of an Osaka Father: How Regional Dialect Influences Ideas on Masculinity and Fatherhood*. The 16th International Pragmatics Conference (IPrA). Hong Kong, June 2019.

King, S. *Finding Oneself through Language: The Role of Race in L2 Learning*. The 10th Annual Graduate Research Forum. Eugene, Oregon, May 2019.

GRANTS, AWARDS, AND HONORS:

- 2018~2019 Graduate Teaching Fellowship, East Asian Languages and Literatures,
University of Oregon
- 2017~2018 Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowship, Department of Education
- 2017~2018 Alan Wolfe Memorial Fellowship, College of Arts and Sciences,
University of Oregon
- 2017~2018 Graduate School Promising Scholar, College of Arts and Sciences,
University of Oregon
- Summer 2017 *Summa cum Laude*, University of Oregon
- Summer 2016 Benjamin A. Gilman International Scholarship, Department of State
- Autumn 2014 Japan Foundation Program for Overseas Partner University Students

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The completion of this thesis would not have been possible without the help and guidance of many people. I would first like to express my gratitude and appreciation to Prof. Kaori Idemaru for supporting me throughout my undergraduate and graduate years as a supervisor and teacher, Prof. Cindi SturtzSreetharan for her research that motivated this project and her guidance throughout the process, and Prof. Zhou Jing-Schmidt for joining our committee and giving her time and comments to help us throughout the defense. Next, I would like to thank my friend Yi Ren for coming to the University of Oregon and joining our research team. Assistance from Yi made the data collection, data analysis, and literature review that went into this project that much more enjoyable. I would also like to thank the other members of my EALL Linguistics sector cohort, and Professors Carl Falsgraf, Tyler Kendall, Yeji Han, and Yoko O'Brien for all the help I received from them. Finally, I would like to say thank you to my friends, family, and partner for supporting me emotionally throughout this entire process and over the years.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Enregisterment, Mediatization, and Commodification	1
1.2 Japanese Regional Dialects	5
1.3 Japanese Masculine Fatherhood and Soshite Chichi ni Naru	7
II. DIALECT RECOGNITION SURVEY	10
2.1 Methodology	10
2.1.1 Participants	10
2.1.2 Stimuli and Survey	11
2.1.3 Procedure	12
2.1.4 Analysis	12
2.2 Results	13
III. INTERVIEW	17
3.1 Methodology	17
3.1.1 Participants and Interview Groups	17
3.1.2 Stimuli and Procedure	17
3.1.3 Recording and Analysis	19
3.2 Interview Results	19
IV. DISCUSSION	27
APPENDICES	30
Appendix A	30
Appendix B	33

Chapter	Page
Appendix C	37
REFERENCES CITED.....	39

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Japanese Characters with Voice Samples	5
2. Osaka Dialect as a Commodity on T-Shirts.....	6
3. Perception of Dialect for All Characters	13
4. Yuudai's Perceived Dialect Across Scenes	14
5. Ryoota's Perceived Dialect Across Scenes.....	16
6. Summary of Interviewees' Perceptions	26

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Dialect Usage Among Survey Respondents	11
2. Numbered Scenes with Descriptions	15

I. INTRODUCTION

Language can function as a semiotic cue in media and regional dialect can be such a cue but does not necessarily need to be expressing regionality. Dialect and even fragments of it can work as a semiotic cue to index multiple social meanings beyond that of region. This study builds on an earlier analysis by SturtzSreetharan (2017) that examined how a Japanese regional language variety, Osaka dialect, is employed to do just that in the contexts of Hirokazu Kore'eda's 2013 film *Soshite Chichi ni Naru* (Like Father Like Son) in order to contrast different styles of fatherhood. As a mediatized form of communication, Osaka dialect indexes an affective, hands-on father while, in comparison, Tokyo-Standard dialect indexes a cold, distant father. SturtzSreetharan's (2017) examination however only took into account lexical and morphological aspects of the dialect leaving open the possibility of a phonetic analysis. What's more, this previous analysis did not question the authenticity of the regional dialect being used in the film and whether the image of an affective, hands-on father was successfully being projected by (so-called) authentic Osaka dialect. To answer these new inquiries, we conducted a dialect recognition survey in order to ascertain the perceived authenticity of the Osaka dialect used in the film. We followed this survey with a series of qualitative interviews to test whether real potential audiences of the film might perceive the dialect and the fathers in the films in the same way that was drawn from previous analyses (SturtzSreetharan 2017a, 2017b). In doing this we aim to illustrate how, by virtue of a language variety's indexical meanings, a commodified form of the language can be employed in media to influence audiences' perception of characters and we hope to demonstrate the importance of perceptual studies as a means to support media analysis.

1.1 Enregisterment, Mediatization, and Commodification

Repeated association and dissemination of recognizable features of language and their social meaning leads to the enregisterment of a semiotic register (Agha 2007). Once language feature(s) have become enregistered in social life, they may be readily associated by individual speakers with personas, identities, activities, and culturally relevant categories of people or contexts. Much work has been done concerning the enregisterment of linguistic features indexing regionality through linking to locations. An

example of work done in this area is Johnstone's (2009) examination of the enregisterment and commodification of "Pittsburghese." Through ethnographic observation and sociolinguistic interviews, she found that the term "Pittsburghese" was used to distinguish what people saw as Pittsburgh's distinct local dialect and demonstrated awareness of the dialect as a commodity by producing products decorated with stereotypical, dialectal words on items such as T-shirts or mugs meant to symbolize Pittsburgh and the people who live there. While the link between the language and the region was being solidified, Johnstone also explains that locals were directly and indirectly reinforcing the links between the linguistic form and social meaning when they would state that people who used those words sound ignorant or associated those words with other types of stereotypes (160). In this way, once speakers were able to notice and associate the linguistic features of the dialect, it had already been sufficiently enregistered with social meanings associated with the speakers.

Johnstone's investigation of Pittsburghese as an enregistered and commodified dialect is particularly relevant to the current study because it draws on the perceptions of speakers who interact with the dialect in use. When a linguistic feature or cluster of features have associated social meaning attached to it, speakers can intuitively assign metalinguistic labels to speech they hear (Agha 2007, 145) and that allows us to tap into language ideologies of those speakers within a community. A number of perceptual studies that investigated language ideologies have proven reliable and fruitful as seen in recent research (Campbell-Kibler 2007, Yuasa 2010, and Pharoa et al 2014). Campbell-Kibler (2007) found that listeners perceived speakers who pronounced the verb ending "-ing" with the alveolar *-in* as more likely Southern and less likely homosexual and/or urban compared to speakers who used the velar *-ing*. On the other hand, Yuasa (2010) analyzed speakers' usage of creaky voice and found that American women employed it more often than American men and Japanese women. She then investigated listener's perception of creaky voice and reported that it was more often attributed to women heard as upwardly-mobile, educated while also informal and hesitant indicating contrasting social meanings indexed by the same linguistic feature. Along the same lines, Pharoa et al (2014) examined perceptions of Danish [s] and a fronted [+s] in 'modern' and 'street' Copenhagen registers to find that the fronted [+s] variant was more often labelled as

homosexual and feminine in only the ‘modern’ register revealing the linguistic features’ potential meanings in different contexts. In other words, the indices are not fixed but have an indexical field (Eckert 2008).

The ability of language features to index different meanings in changing contexts makes it possible for language to be strategically employed in media to project certain images of characters to the audience (see Hiramoto 2013). In other words, if a linguistic feature such as alveolar *-in* indexes masculinity, then it might be advantageous for writers to include this feature in an actress’s lines who is supposed to be playing a tomboy-ish character. However, language as it is used in media as a source of linguistic analysis may open criticism as it is not authentic language but scripted speech. Though this may be true, media and its scripted speech in itself presents an example of a “metadiscursive genre” in which the ideologies behind language choices can be examined (Agha 2007, 161). Writers of scripted speech must employ what they believe to be shared ideologies about language in their choices if they have the intention of making an impact on audiences or being accepted by audiences. As Richardson (2010) notes, the scripted dialogs in televisual media must be believable by their audiences.

When social meanings and ideologies about language are transmitted through media in a way to influence the audience, they undergo a process of mediatization (Agha 2011b, see also Androutsopoulos 2014). Although this process does not necessarily have to take place by way of language, work has been done to investigate how forms of mediatized language function to transmit ideas to viewers. For example, Lopez and Hinrichs (2017) demonstrated how a mediatized Jamaican Creole used in a widely seen car commercial functioned to display one car owner as someone who is happy in contrast to his coworkers who are not happy with their own cars. When an ideology that speakers of Jamaican Creole are happy is pushed in media, that linguistic register becomes naturalized as the sound of ‘happy’ in the minds of speakers, or a mediatized form of communication. Another case of this can be seen in Pua and Hiramoto’s (2018) analysis of the mediatization of East Asia in James Bond films. The authors argue that by using varying levels of accented-ness between villains and allies, making inconsistent references to vaguely ‘Asian’ concepts and items, relegating East Asian characters to the background or having them exist solely to show Bond as the ideal, masculine hero, East

Asian languages and cultures have come to be mediatized into a single, exoticized 'East Asia' of imagination. An important aspect in both analyses is that the languages under investigation are both inauthentic. The Jamaican Creole was found to be a mixture of Rastafarian speech and segmental variation salient to English-speaking audiences that index Jamaican-ness. Similarly, a single East Asian character in the Bond films could speak with stereotypical linguistic features that would be known by audiences as those of either Chinese, Japanese, or even some other accented languages of East Asia. These cases are emblematic of how creators will use language to project ideologies, but that language does not always need to be authentic or realistic. This tendency was best explained by Lippi-Green (2011) when she commented that, "actors attempt to manipulate language as a tool in the construction of character, sometimes successfully, sometimes not" (108).

The fact that such language in fragments is acceptable and possibly still transmits the mediatized message and enregistered social meanings attached to the linguistic forms draws attention to a common occurrence in media: language commodification. This is the process by which a language or fragments of it are used as commodities to make stereotypes surrounding them more widely known (Agha 2011a). An example of this is seen in Hiramoto's (2011) look at recent usage of a commodified form of Hawai'ian Creole in advertisements to stimulate positive sentiment for Hawai'ian local culture. Advertisers were careful however in not using too much Hawai'ian Creole as it was still stigmatized to some extent and wanted to avoid damage to the brand. As Lopez and Hinrichs (2017) say, though numerous studies have examined the use of commodified language beyond those discussed above (Haarmann 1984; Hill 1998, 2005; Lee 2006; Hiramoto 2011; Dimova 2012), fewer have empirically investigated how the use of commodified language truly influence audiences' perceptions (Bleichenbacher 2012; Planchenault 2012; Chun 2013). Lopez and Hinrichs (2017) showed how Jamaican and American audiences perceived the usage of the commodified Jamaican Creole differently and Bleichenbacher (2012) examined perceptions of accented speech in Hollywood films through online comments. These studies and the current one presented in this paper aim to show how the projection of mediatized messages with the aid of strongly enregistered

and salient commodity languages make it possible for audiences to perceive language in new ways and in the ways creators of media intend.

1.2 Japanese Regional Dialects

The language at the center of this study is Osaka dialect, a western regional dialect of Japan. While there are many Japanese regional dialects that could have been selected for this film, Osaka dialect was the ideal language of choice for two reasons. The first is that as a result of standard language ideology in Japan, the enregistered social meanings already attached to it go beyond regionality. The ‘standard language’ of Japan corresponds to the language of Tokyo but this was in some ways manufactured during efforts by the Meiji-era Japanese government (1868–1912) to develop a standard in order to stimulate a sense of nationhood in modernization movements (Sakai 1992, Shibamoto-Smith and Occhi 2009, Occhi et al 2010; Okamoto and Shibamoto-Smith 2016). As a result, Tokyo-Standard dialect has come to index modernity while many of the regional dialects that already existed have come to be viewed as the language of lower, uneducated, and rural classes of people (Miyake 1995). An example of the pervasiveness of this ideology can be seen in Hiramoto’s (2009) analysis of the Japanese translation *Gone with the Wind* that drew attention to the choice to have slaves and poor white characters’ speech

translated into Tohoku dialect (a Northeastern dialect) while the Tokyo-Standard dialect was chosen for the wealthy, white main characters’ speech. However, these kinds of language ideologies do not apply to all regional dialects

equally as Osaka dialect is viewed in a different light.

Osaka dialect holds a special status within Japan as a member of the Keihanshin Dialect

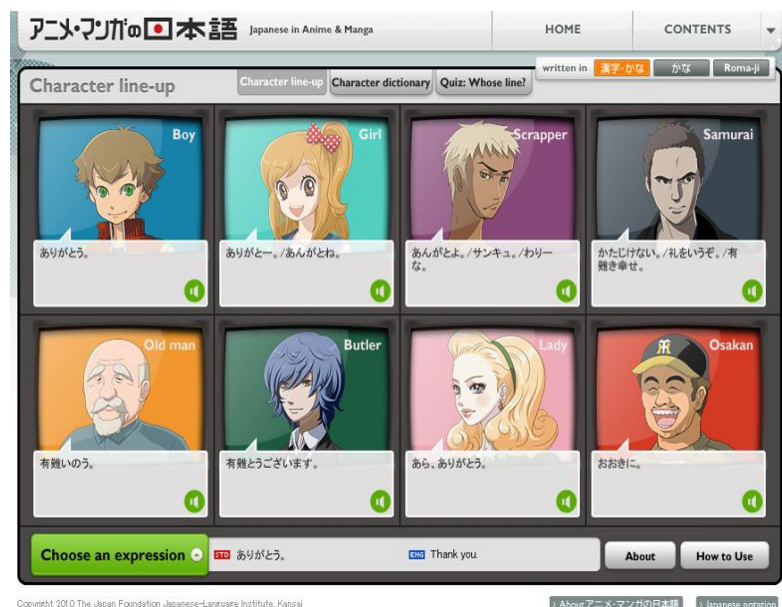


Figure 1 Japanese characters with voice samples. Included is an Osakan man in the bottom right red square. Found at: <http://anime-manga.jp/CharacterExpressions/>

that is made up by varieties of Kyoto, Osaka, Kobe which had also been centrally important cities in Japanese history (Shibamoto-Smith and Occhi 2009, Occhi et al 2010). In this way Osaka dialect has been able to avoid losing prestige on the national stage by being a signifier of the speech of one who is old-fashioned, from the country-side, or lacking in education like other regional dialects. The dialect of Osaka has even developed positive socially enregistered meanings beyond this. Osaka dialect has been found to index coolness, intimacy and relaxedness in informal settings (Shibamoto-Smith and Occhi 2009, Occhi et al 2010), and even possible romantic eligibility in men (Occhi et al 2010) that will contribute to its applicability in projecting an affective, hands-on father in the film at the center of this project.

The second reason that Osaka dialect was a viable option for this film is due to its national prominence across Japan. While throughout this paper we will use the term ‘Osaka’ dialect, the term has actually come to refer to a pan-Kansai dialectal region (Ball, 2004) which suggests a metonymic nature of Osaka dialect. What’s more, Osaka dialect is featured prominently on Japanese television such as on variety comedy shows so much so that an Osakan person is recognizable as a character-type as seen in Figure 1 of a Japanese language learning program linked from Japan Foundation website. On this page of the website, various characters are saying “Thank you” in a character-specific manner



Figure 2 Osaka Dialect as a commodity on T-shirts (Google Image)

and the Osakan man included as one of the ‘characters.’ Osaka morphology and lexical items can even be regularly seen as a commodity on items such as T-shirts as in Figure 2. The T-shirts clockwise from the top left in Figure 2 read *nani-ga chau nen yuutemi* (Tokyo-Standard Japanese (SJ): *nani-ga chigau yo ittemi*) ‘try saying what’s wrong,’ *nande ya nen* (SJ: *nande da yo*) ‘what/why the hell,’ *sunmahan* (SJ: *sumimasen*) ‘sorry,’ and *akan* (SJ: *dame*) ‘no good’ which are all highly

recognizable Osaka-dialect phrases. All these features in combination contribute to Osaka dialect’s social salience and recognizability of its linguistic features among potential Japanese audiences. These highly segmentable (and thus easily brought into awareness)

characteristics of Osaka dialect are precisely the features which allow for it to be used as a commodity (Agha 2011a, see also Johnstone 2009; Silverstein 1981) and in turn successfully function as a mediatized form of communication. This leads to an introduction of the film *Soshite Chichi ni Naru* (Like Father Like Son) itself and a discussion of the mediatized messages transmitted in the film by way of contrasting the Osaka and Tokyo-Standard dialects.

1.3 Japanese Masculine Fatherhood and *Soshite Chichi ni Naru*

SturtzSreetharan (2017) proposes that by contrasting the styles of fatherhood of a Tokyo-Standard Japanese-speaking father and an Osaka dialect-speaking father, a new style of affective, masculine fatherhood is indexed through the different Japanese language varieties they each employ in the film. In this resignification of fatherhood, an affective, hands-on father speaks Osaka dialect and a cold, distant father speaks Tokyo-Standard Japanese. This comparison is done through the narrative of the film that tells the story of two families whose young sons were switched at the hospital and now must decide whether to keep the boy they have raised or switch boys so that each family has their biological son. The Tokyo-Standard-speaking father, Ryoota Ninomiya and the Osaka dialect-speaking father, Yuudai Saiki are contrasted with each other through more than just their languages; their explicit differences reflect ideologies surrounding fatherhood and masculinity in Japan.

Ryoota is a successful salaryman and lives with his wife Midori and their son Keita in a fancy Tokyo apartment. Ryoota is often too busy with work to spend time with his son or his wife but provides them with financial stability and education opportunity in the case of his son Keita who is working to be accepted into a prestigious elementary school. His dress is clean-cut, and his demeanor is serious. In this way, Ryoota represents dominant norms of Japanese hegemonic masculinity and fatherhood in the traditional sense as, although he is cold, distant, and emotionally unavailable for his family (Gill 2005, Dasgupta 2000, 2011), he is a reliable source of support for them. On the other hand, Yuudai is a shopkeeper of a small electronics store that is attached to his home where he lives with his wife Yukari, son Ryuusei (who also uses Osaka dialect in the film), and two other young children. Yuudai, although he does not provide much money, is emotionally present for his wife and children and spends quality time with them. He

wears baggy, colorful clothing and throughout the film usually has frizzy hair. In a traditional sense, Yuudai does not fit the hegemonic model of masculinity fatherhood as Ryoota does in this film. Visually and behaviorally the two are portrayed as polar opposites of each other but it is their language that also works audibly to set them apart. In contrasting Yuudai and Ryoota's styles of masculinity and fatherhood through their dialects as mediatized forms of communication, SturtzSreetharan (2017) argues that the film promotes "the social practice of playing with and participating in the rearing of one's children" (p. 46). However, further questions arise about the use of the film's dialect and whether any of the film's possible messages about masculinity and fatherhood are indexable by way of Osaka and Tokyo dialect as perceived by Japanese audiences.

Firstly, Yuudai's use of Osaka dialect is unexpected given that the film takes place in the Kanto (eastern) region, an area not associated with Osaka dialect (associated with western Japan). Yuudai's family is shown to live in Gunma prefecture which is within the same Kanto region that Tokyo is located but Yuudai does not speak Gunma dialect and there is no indication in the film that he relocated from the Osaka area. As such, it does not make much sense as to why only he and his son Ryuusei would use Osaka dialect. Secondly, an analysis of online comments on Japanese movie review websites¹ found that that some viewers also questioned what the Osaka-sounding dialect was and why it was used despite the lack of contextual reasoning. Through our preliminary analysis, we found that Yuudai used Osaka dialect consistently throughout the entire film. These aspects of Yuudai's usage of Osaka dialect led us to pose three questions: Why does Yuudai speak Osaka dialect but not the dialect of Gunma? Are there contextual reasons for Yuudai's inconsistency in using Osaka dialect? And, finally, does an inconsistently utilized and produced form of Osaka dialect effectively get across the image of an affective, hands-on father? While our discussion (above) of the enregistered social meanings and commodification of the Osaka dialect among Japanese

¹ Similar to Bleichenbacher's (2012) analysis of online reviews of accents in Hollywood movies, the Google extension Web Scraper was used to scrape 1,500 online comments from popular movie review websites eiga.com and movies.yahoo.com.jp. A keyword analysis found that just 5 comments mentioned Osaka/Kansai dialect. The very small number of references to dialect usage in the film indicates that the dialect in the film likely falls below the level of consciousness for most viewers but that for those who do pay attention to dialect notice the region in which Yuudai lives and the dialect he speaks do not match or that the usage of dialect is inconsistent.

people addresses the first question, it does not fully answer the second and third. As such, we through a series of perception studies that included a dialect recognition survey as well as interviews drawn from focus groups with potential audiences of the film, we aimed to investigate the following questions:

- (1) How authentic is Yuudai's Osaka dialect perceived to be overall?
- (2) Does the authenticity of his Osaka dialect change with scenes (contexts)?
- (3) Does a fragmented, inauthentic Osaka dialect still truly aid in the projection of Yuudai as an affective, hands-on father as the film frames him to be?

II. DIALECT RECOGNITION SURVEY

2.1 Methodology

In order to address the first two questions regarding authenticity, we conducted a dialect recognition survey. An anonymous link to the survey was created through the online survey software, Qualtrics. Survey respondents listened to sound clips from the film and were asked to judge the dialect they heard.

2.1.1 Participants

The survey was distributed to Japanese universities through personal contacts at those schools. There was a total of 135 anonymous responses from Japanese students and others affiliated with the schools. After participants under the age of 18 and those who had not finished at least half of the survey were eliminated, there were 95 responses. In addition, participants who had indicated that they had seen the movie were then removed leaving 69 in total individual survey respondents. Of these 69 respondents, all but one completed 100% of the survey; the single respondent who did not complete 100% still answered over 90% of the dialect judgement questions so the responses were left in the pool for analysis.

Respondent ages ranged from 19 to 62 years old (average age = 24.8 years old) with about 15% of the respondents being over the age of 30 years old. Of the respondents (N = 69), 41 (60%) were female and 28 (40%) were male. The majority of respondents were residing in the Kansai region (65%) and less so in the Kanto region (32%). One respondent was living in Aichi prefecture (Chubu region) and one respondent chose 'other' rather than one of the Japanese prefectures presented in the survey. Respondents were also asked to where to indicate the location of their native origin. Of the respondents, 51% of them grew up in the Kansai region, and 28% in the Kanto region. About 13% of the respondents were originally from the Chubu region and 4% were from Kyushu. The remaining respondents were spread out among the other regions with one from each of the following regions: Tohoku, Chugoku, and Shikoku. Just one respondent declined to identify their native origin.

Respondents were also asked to share information about their (non-)usage of any regional dialect. They were asked whether they used Standard Japanese only, mainly Standard and sometimes Dialect, Dialect only, mainly Dialect and sometimes Standard,

‘other’, or they could choose not to answer. The results of this question are presented in Table 1 below. Responses were fairly evenly spread out; each choice except for ‘other’ applied to approximately 20-30% of respondents but most (28%) indicated that they used dialect only. Of those who responded that they used regional dialect only, all explained that they spoke Kansai or Osaka dialect with the exception of one participant who indicated that they use Sanuki dialect (of the Shikoku region), another who uses Fukui dialect (of the Chubu region), and another who uses Wakayama dialect (also of the Kansai region). For those who responded that they use dialect sometimes, the variety of dialects used was much greater. Among the participants there were individual speakers who indicated that they used dialects from the Tohoku, Chubu, and Kanto region such as Akita, Ibaraki, and Chichi dialects. All others indicated that they used Kansai or Osaka dialect. Finally, of those who responded that they used regional dialect mainly and standard sometimes, the majority, 13 of the 16, indicated that they used a dialect from the Kansai region (whether it be Osaka or Kobe). These results show that the respondents of the online survey are fairly experienced with Japanese dialects and most so with the dialect(s) of the Kansai region.

2.1.2 Stimuli and Survey

A total of 84 short sound clips were chosen from various scenes throughout the film. Of the 84 sound clips chosen, 54 came from Yuudai as it was his dialect was the focus of our investigation. The 54 clips of his speech made up 64% of the total, 14 were from Ryoota and the remaining 16 were from their two sons.

Language Usage	Count	Percentage
Standard only	15	22%
Mainly Standard; sometimes Dialect	14	20%
Dialect only	18	28%
Mainly Dialect; sometimes Standard	16	23%
Other	5	7%
No answer	0	0%
Total	69	100%

Table 1 Dialect usage among survey respondents

The number of clips from each character could not completely be balanced as they came from the film and each character had different amounts of screen time. Nonetheless the clips were chosen from scenes throughout the film that featured lexical and morphological features of Osaka dialect, some originally identified as emblematic of Yuudai's Osaka identity in SturtzSreetharan (2017); we also aimed to choose lines of speech from the same scenes across the two fathers so that the content of speech was similar across the sound clips. The exact lines used in the survey can be seen in Appendix A. Nine different scenes provided the sound clips with Yuudai being present in 7 of them. We created 4 versions of the dialect recognition survey, with 21 different clips in each version. These 4 versions were created so that the survey could be completed within 10 minutes and respondents would not feel fatigued while we collect responses to a wide range of speech samples. Participants were randomly assigned to one of the four versions.

2.1.3 Procedure

An anonymous link to the online survey was sent to participants through personal contacts at different Japanese universities. In the first section of the survey, all participants were asked to self-report their age, gender, origin/hometown, current place of residence, and information about their dialect as presented above. After the demographic questions, the survey of the sound clips were presented. In each version of the survey the sound clips were presented one at a time with a simultaneous display of the question about the language. The respondents were asked to judge what variety of Japanese was used in the clip. Possible response choices included: (1) Clearly Tokyo Standard, (2) Probably Tokyo Standard, (3) Clearly Osaka dialect, (4) Probably Osaka dialect, (5) Clearly a dialect, although not Osaka dialect, (6) Probably a dialect, although not Osaka dialect, or (7) Cannot decide. They could listen to each sound clip as many times as they liked before submitting their choice. After making a judgement for all 21 clips, listeners were asked whether they had seen the film or not which was used to separate them out from the analysis. The survey took an average of 36 minutes to complete.

2.1.4 Analysis

For ease of analysis 'clearly' and 'probably' judgements were combined into single categories so that there were four categories of 'Tokyo,' 'Osaka,' 'Other,' or 'No response.' The judgements for each spoken line was aggregated for each character (i.e.,

Yuudai, Ryoota, Ryuusei, and Keita) and used to see the general perception of dialect as used by each character. Significance in the difference of perceived dialect across characters was also calculated. Then, each line was associated to the scene in which it was originally spoken, and the aggregated perceived dialect was tracked across scenes to examine whether characters' dialect changes through the film. The results of these analyses are presented below.

2.2 Results

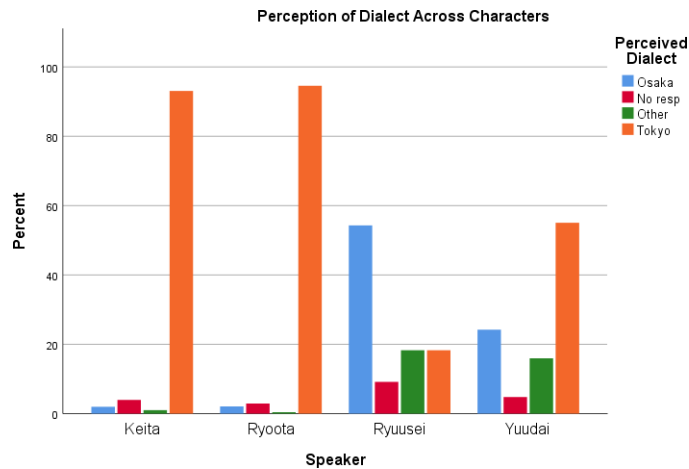


Figure 3 Perception of dialect for all characters as percentage of total judgements by all listeners

Firstly, we examined how each characters' dialect was perceived overall. Figure 3 shows that Ryoota (the standard-speaking father) and his son Keita were almost always judged as Tokyo dialect speakers. This is not surprising as they are unambiguously Tokyo people throughout the film and their dialect follows suit. On the other hand, Ryuusei, the son of Yuudai (the Osaka-speaking father) was more often heard as an Osaka speaker. While Yuudai was most often heard as a Tokyo speaker, he was also heard as an Osaka speaker or as a speaker of some other dialect. A Pearson's Chi-Square test found that the differences between the perception of Yuudai and Ryuusei's (son) dialect was significant, ($\chi^2(3) = 91.86$, $p = .000$). This means that the percentage of perceived dialect distribution is different across Yuudai and Ryuusei: While Ryuusei's utterances were judged as primarily Osaka dialect, Yuudai's utterances were judged as including Tokyo standard, Osaka dialect, and other dialects. The differences between the perception of Yuudai (the Osaka-speaking father) and Ryoota's (the standard-speaking father) dialect was also found to be significant, ($\chi^2(3) = 131.53$, $p = .000$). This difference is also likely due to

the fact that Yuudai's utterances were judged as mixed while Ryoota's utterances were almost exclusively judged as Tokyo standard. Nevertheless, this analysis confirms that the two fathers' linguistic behaviors were different. These findings also suggest that there was some ambiguity among listeners as to what dialect Yuudai speaks and that his dialect is different across the various scenes. Detailed crosstabulations for analysis for Yuudai vs Ryuusei and Yuudai vs Ryoota are included in Appendix B.

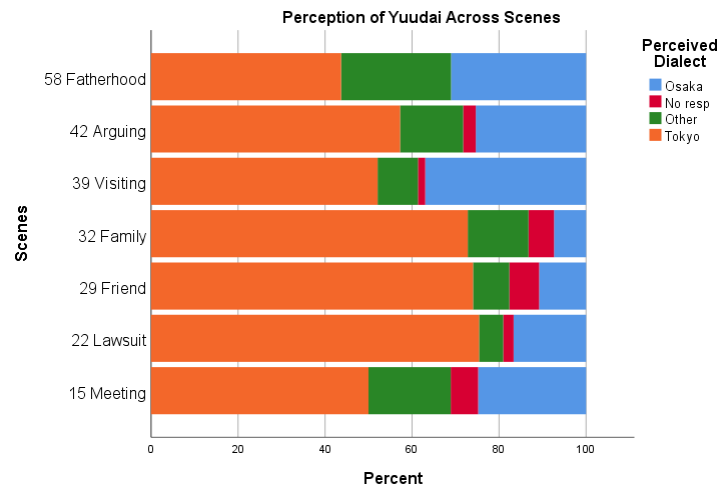


Figure 4 Yuudai's perceived dialect across scenes in which he spoke as a percentage

The next comparison we examined was the perception of dialect across scenes of the film. A total of 10 scenes were represented in the survey but only 7 were looked at in the scene analysis for Yuudai because the remaining scenes represented scenes whose lines were spoken by the two fathers' sons, Keita or Ryuusei. In Figure 2 Yuudai's perceived dialect is shown to fluctuate across various scenes from 15 to 58 (the scene numbers correspond to the scene's place chronologically in the film). In scene 15, Yuudai's and Ryoota's families are meeting for the first time after they learn of the hospital's mistake in switching their sons. In scene 22, the families are discussing the idea of moving forward with a lawsuit against the hospital. Scenes 29 and 32 feature Yuudai speaking with members of his family at home when they are praying at their family altar (32) and with a friend in his shop who has come to buy lightbulbs (29) respectively. In scene 39, Yuudai is visiting the Ryoota's home before they go to Keita's elementary school entrance ceremony. And finally, in scene 42 Yuudai and Ryoota are arguing about how to handle the situation with their sons and in scene 58 the two are

discussing fatherhood. The scenes and their descriptions can be seen more clearly in Table 2 below.

Scene	Description
Scene 15	Families meet for the first time
Scene 22	Families discuss what to do about the situation and lawsuit
Scene 29	Yuudai sells lightbulbs to a friend
Scene 32	Yuudai eats dinner with his family
Scene 39	Yuudai visits Ryoota's home to join them for Keita's school entrance ceremony
Scene 42	Yuudai and Ryoota argue about what to do with their sons
Scene 58	Yuudai gives Ryoota advice about fatherhood

Table 2 Numbered scenes with descriptions

We can see in Figure 4 that Yuudai was heard as an Osaka speaker at differing rates across scenes. He was heard more often as an Osaka speaker in scenes such as 15, 39, 42, and 58 which are all scenes in which Ryoota is present. While Ryoota was present in scene 22, the conversation about the lawsuit that took place prominently featured both of their wives and may not have been a useful scene to contrast Yuudai and Ryoota. In this way, the role of Osaka dialect as a contrastive feature between the two characters is supported. Yuudai was perceived to sound more like an Osaka-speaker in scenes in which both Ryoota and Yuudai interacted. However, Yuudai was perceived to sound more like that of a Tokyo-Standard speaker in scenes where Ryoota was not present. These include scenes such as 32 where Yuudai is speaking to his friend in his shop; this stands out, in particular, given that we would expect authentic dialect speakers to use their dialect more so in intimate, comfortable settings (Labov 1972). Scenes 15, in which Ryoota and Yuudai are first meeting, and 32, where he chats with his friend in his shop, show the biggest differences in rate of perceived Osaka-dialect such that Yuudai sounded most like an Osaka speaker in 15 and the least like an Osaka speaker in 32. A Chi-square test revealed that the difference between perception of Yuudai's dialect in those scenes was significantly different, ($X^2(3) = 23.99$, $p = .000$).

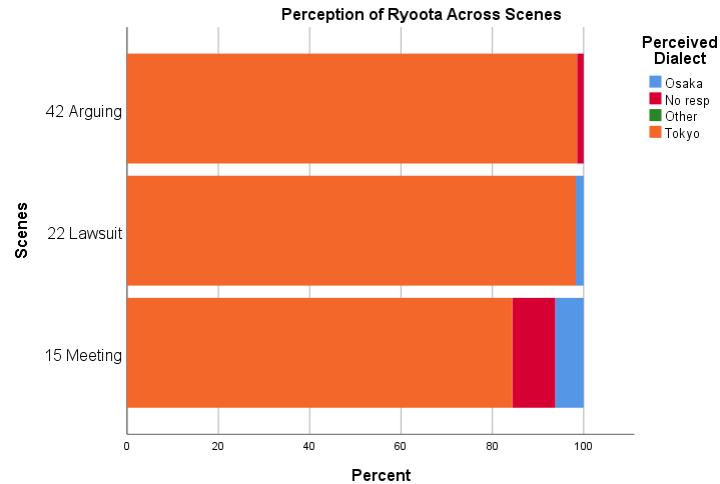


Figure 5 Ryoota's perceived dialect across scenes in which he spoke as a percentage

To contrast the difference between Yuudai and Ryoota more clearly, Ryoota's perceived dialect across scenes in which he was (1) present and (2) had speaking lines are included in the surveys as shown in Figure 5. In scenes 15, 22, and 42 Ryoota was unambiguously judged to be a speaker of Tokyo dialect and most especially in scene 42 where the two fathers are arguing. This particular scene highlights their different attitudes toward parenting. Ryoota suggests he and his wife raise both boys because they have the financial stability to offer them greater opportunities in life and Yuudai rejects his offer accusing him of attempting to buy children with money. Yuudai and Ryoota's attitudes are starkly different in this scene and their dialects were also perceived to be significantly different, ($\chi^2(3) = 97.13, p = .000$). More detailed comparison crosstabulations are below in Appendix B. This finding coupled with that of Yuudai's dialect was actually being judged to sound less Osaka-like in scenes with his family and friends (scenes 22 and 29) provide evidence to support the argument that the choice to have Yuudai use Osaka dialect was strategic on the part of the writers and instrumental in contrasting the two mens' styles of fatherhood in the film rather than just being an aspect of Yuudai's character and back story. However, whether this contrasting of fatherhoods by using Osaka dialect was successful or not from the viewer's perspective is another question.

III. INTERVIEW

3.1 Methodology

The results of the dialect recognition survey found that listeners did not find Yuudai's speech to sound consistently Osaka-like suggests inauthenticity of his dialect. On the other hand, there was very little ambiguity in the Tokyo dialect of Ryoota's speech. The findings also show that Yuudai's Osaka-ness changed across scenes and ones in which he and Ryoota were at odds in their parenting styles brought about more frequent judgements of Osaka dialect. As such, we still wanted to know whether a perceived inauthentic Osaka dialect as used by Yuudai successfully projected the image of the affective, hands-on father in the way the film frames him to be. In order to answer this question, we conducted 4 semi-structured interviews.

3.1.1 Participants and Interview Groups Twelve native Japanese speakers (3 males and 3 females from the Tokyo area and 3 males and 3 females from the Kansai area) participated in focus-group interviews. All participants were between the ages of 18 and 30 and were university students who had not been studying abroad in the United States for more than six months prior to the interviews. The interview groups were separated by gender and region so that women spoke with women and men spoke with men. One of the female groups was made up of speakers from the Tokyo area while the other female group was made up of speakers from the Kansai area. The male groups were organized in the same way. This was done so that participants felt comfortable speaking honestly about their thoughts regarding gender, region, and language varieties in Japan.

3.1.2 Stimuli and Procedure

The interview participants listened to audio stimuli and answered questions asked by moderators (the author of this paper and another graduate student of linguistics). The stimuli used in the interviews came directly from the clips used in the dialect recognition survey and are included in Appendix A. The lines spoken by Yuudai that were perceived to be Osaka dialect-like more often than not were considered to be moderately or strongly Osaka-sounding. Those in which Yuudai was perceived to sound less like an Osaka speaker and more like something else (Tokyo or another dialect) were considered to be slightly Osaka. The utterances spoken by Yuudai that were judged to sound slightly, moderately, or strongly Osaka in the dialect recognition survey were compiled into

longer clips of about 30~45 seconds and the same was done in scenes with Ryoota, speaking in Tokyo dialect.

The interviews each lasted about 40 minutes and were split into three parts in which interviewees were asked open-ended questions about their perceptions of Yuudai and Ryoota, their dialects, and those dialects (Osaka and Tokyo) in general. The exact questions are included in Appendix C. In part one, interviewees heard a clip that contained lines from scenes 39, 42, and 58 in which Yuudai was judged to sound moderately or strongly Osaka and were then asked to share their opinions about who he might be as a person, man, and father. In this clip there were small instances of other characters speaking and created some context for interviewees, but we asked interviewees to focus on the speech of Yuudai who we called ‘the first man’ rather than use his name.

Following this, in part two, we aimed to determine interviewee’s perceptions of Yuudai using different levels of perceived authentic Osaka dialect in a more direct way. The participants heard two clips of Yuudai-only lines; all other characters’ speech was cut from the clip. In one clip, we compiled Yuudai’s lines which were judged to sound slightly Osaka (lines from scenes 29 and 32), and in the other file, we compiled his lines that were judged moderately or strongly Osaka (the same used in part one). After hearing the clips, participants were asked what dialect they thought Yuudai was speaking in each of in the two clips that were found by the survey respondents to vary in perceived Osaka dialect authenticity. We aimed to establish the interviewee’s perception of the authenticity of Yuudai’s dialect and whether it was consistent with that of the survey respondents. In addition to this question, we asked the respondents to compare the two speaking men (although they were both Yuudai) along the same lines of part one and asked them what kind of people speak Osaka dialect. With this question we intended to draw out interviewees’ opinions towards the dialects on a more conscious level rather than in the round-a-bout way we did in part one.

Finally, in part three, the interviewees heard the compiled clips of Yuudai’s strongly Osaka lines again (the same file used in part one and two) and another compiled clip of Ryoota’s lines from scenes in which he was perceived in the survey to be unambiguously like a Tokyo speaker and were asked to discuss their attitudes about who

Ryoota might be as a person, man, and father before comparing the interviewee's judgements of the two men's masculinity and fatherhood.

3.1.3 Recording and Analysis

All of the interviewees wore lavalier microphones (Audio-Technica AT 899) or head-mounted microphones (Shure 10A,) and were recorded using a Marantz PMD 670. An omnidirectional microphone (Blue Yeti) was also placed in the middle of the room to catch the speech of all the speakers and was recorded directly into the Audacity program on a personal computer. The recordings were then transcribed and coded by the author of this paper and another graduate student of linguistics for common themes related to interviewee's ideologies surrounding dialect, masculinity, and fatherhood.

3.2 Interview Results

The results of the interviews provided much insight into speaker ideology behind enregistered social meanings of Osaka and Tokyo dialect and how those might come to index different styles of fatherhood. Firstly, while all of the participants identified Ryoota as a Tokyo dialect speaker and Yuudai to be an Osaka dialect speaker, the group of Osaka men expressed confusion about which part of the Kansai region Yuudai came from and the Tokyo men could not decide whether Yuudai sounded like an Osaka-dialect speaker or Tohoku-dialect speaker. When asked why they thought Yuudai was an Osaka dialect speaker, the group of Tokyo women vaguely referenced lexical or morphological aspects of his speech which they called his *hanashikata* 'way of speaking.' From this we could see that the interviewees were judging the dialect of the speakers possibly in ways similar to those in the dialect recognition survey.

When asked about the possible occupational status of Yuudai all interviewees guessed that he is someone who works with his hands, possibly as a carpenter or is self-employed however not someone of elite standing. Many also commented that he might not have graduated high school or only went to a technical college suggesting that Yuudai's speech indexed a lower socio-economic status in the minds of the interviewees. Interviewees did not all get the impression that Yuudai was kind, but most believed he was at least friendly or approachable which aligns with stereotypical ideologies towards speakers of Osaka dialect as described in the introduction of this paper.

When asked about the masculinity of Yuudai, all speakers except for the Tokyo males described Yuudai as masculine and related his masculinity to comments made about working with his hands or being rough or aggressive such as in excerpt (1) below from the female Tokyo-region interviewees. The Tokyo-region males whose discussion is seen in excerpt (2) below was slightly more critical and described Yuudai as sounding masculine but just in a traditional sense of the concept. This might be due to the fact that they were all asked this question after describing Yuudai as someone who works with their hands and does work that requires strength. Another possibility is a regional difference that just these Tokyo men felt towards an Osaka dialect speaking man because neither the Tokyo women, Osaka women, or Osaka men made such a comment. If this is the case, separating the interview groups by gender and region to allow speakers to share their opinions honestly might have been a beneficial choice.

Female Tokyo Group

(1) Speaker 1: すごい男らしい

sugoi otokorashii

“Super manly”

Speaker 3: どちらかと言ったら力持ち

dochira-kato ittara chikaramochi

“If I had to say, (he’s) a strong man.”

Male Tokyo Group

(2) Speaker 12: 昔のお父さん像というか、頑固で、威張っててっていう

なんか本当に昔ながらの男性像っていう印象がすごい。

mukashi otousanzou-to iu-ka ganko-de ibattete-tte iu

nanka hontou-ni mukashi nagara-no danseizou-tte iu inshou-ga sugoi

“The idea of a father from a long time ago, (he’s) stubborn, acting big, and the impression that he’s a kind of man from a long time ago is strong.”

...

Speaker 10: 男らしい、まあ、なんか、ジェネラル的に言うと、時代によって

変わるかなと思うけど、でも、昔の、なんだろう、その男らしい人にはあってると思うけど

*otokorashii maa nanka jeneraruteki-ni iu-to jidai-ni yotte kawaru-kana-to
omou kedo demo mukashi-no nan darou sono otokorashii hito-niwa
atteru-to omou kedo*

“Masculine, well... if we speak generally, I think it changes with generations but if it’s a long time ago then that man matches a masculine man.”

They were asked about their perceptions of Yuudai as a possible father figure and gave responses that aligned with how the film framed him to be. When asked about the fatherhood of Yuudai, a female Tokyo-region speaker shared her impressions shown in (3) and male Tokyo-region speakers expressed their feelings towards Yuudai compared to Ryoota while also displaying some metalinguistics awareness of the role social indexicality of Osaka dialect might play in influencing their opinions in excerpt (4):

Female Tokyo Group

(3) Speaker 3: 守ってくれそう

mamotte kuresou

“(He) seems like he would protect (his kids).”

だって子供のことを大事に考えそう

datte kodomo-no koto-wo daiji-ni kangaesou

“Since (he) seems like he cherishes his kids.”

Male Tokyo Group

(4) Speaker 12: 外からみた時に、関西弁を話してる方が、まあ個人的にはいいお父さん、子供といい関係あると思います

soto-kara mita toki-ni kansaiben-wo hanashiteru hou-ga maa kojinteki-niwa ii otousan, kodomo-to ii kankei aru-to omoimasu

“Looking from the outside, the one speaking Kansai (Osaka) dialect, well, personally I think is a good father and has a good relationship with his kids.”

Speaker 11: 多分、関西弁の方がオープンだし、社交的な感じがするから *tabun*

kansai-ben-no hou-ga oopun da shi shakoutekina kanji-ga suru kara

“Probably it’s because Kansai (Osaka) dialect is more open and sociable.”

When asked about how Yuudai might be as a possible husband, many felt that Yuudai might not be an ideal partner. They described him as stubborn, too traditional in his thinking of the roles of men and women, and, on the more extreme end of the spectrum, possibly rough. Speaker 1 in line (5) describes Yuudai as a “domineering husband” and wants his wife to do as she is told. Speaker 2 suggests he might be physically or verbally abusive. This of course does not align with their ideals for a husband or as a father as they expressed the man should be someone who should be kind to and take care of his kids and wife as seen in line (6).

Female Tokyo Group

(5) Speaker 1: 亭主関白そう

teishukanpaku sou

“Seems like a domineering husband.”

Speaker 2: なんかお父さんが強い女は弱いみたいな印象を持ってそうな気がします

nanka otousan-ga tsuyoi onna-wa yowai mitaina inshou-wo mottesouna ki-ga shimasu

“Seems he holds the impression that father is strong, women are weak.”

Speaker 1: 俺の言うことを聞けみたいな感じ

ore-no iu koto-wo kike mitaina kanji

“Kind of like ‘Listen to what I say!’”

...

Speaker 2: でも妻にはもう暴力振るってるそんな印象が

demo tsuma-niwa mou bouryoku futteru sonna inshou-ga

“But towards his wife (he’s) abusive, (I have) that kind of impression.”

....

でも言葉の暴力で、つまりプレッシャーをかけてそう

demo kotoba-no bouryoku-de tsumari puresshaa-wo kaketesou

“But with verbal abuse (he) already seems to put pressure on (her).”

(6) Speaker 1: 子供にプレッシャーにならないようにしてくれてで、なんか土日とか休みの日は遊びに連れて行ってくれたりで、何よりも奥さんのケアをしてあげれる人

kodomo-ni puresshaa-ni naranai you-ni shite kurete de, nanka douyoubi-toka yasumi-no hi-wa asobi-ni tsurete itte kuretari de, nani-yorimo okusan-no kea-wo agereru hito

“(He) would try not to put pressure on his kids and like on Saturdays or days off take them along to play and above all take care of his wife.”

In part three of the interview, we had interviewees listen to Ryoota speaking and asked them to answer the same questions that had for Yuudai. The majority of participants answered that Ryoota sounds like a salaryman who graduated from university. They also described him as serious and rational, not stubborn like the other father, and even possibly elite. Compared to the perception of Yuudai who spoke with an Osaka dialect, Ryoota, who spoke with a Tokyo dialect, indexed a higher socio-economic status in the imaginations of the listeners. What’s more, when asked about Ryoota’s masculinity many compared his to that of Yuudai’s such as in excerpt (7) from the Tokyo-region women. Speaker one did not find that he sounded as masculine in comparison but that he would do what is expected in looking after the kids. It should be noted that her phrasing was quite different than what we heard about Yuudai behavior as a father towards the kids. Speakers described Yuudai’s behavior as “*daiji-ni shite kureru*” (to take care of someone) which connotes a more loving or cherishing attitude towards those for whom he cares. On the other hand, a man from Osaka in line (8) explicitly stated that he did not sound masculine and that he was just average. This seems along the same lines of the Tokyo men’s reaction to the Osaka-speaking father’s voice. Neither the Tokyo or Osaka men expressed that the other region’s speaker sounded masculine.

Tokyo Female Group

(7) Interviewer: 男らしい人だと思いますか

otoko rashii hito da-to omoimasu-ka

“Do you think he is a masculine a person?”

...

Speaker 1: 先ほどではないけど子供の世話をちゃんとして

sakihodo dewa nai kedo kodomo-no sewa-wo chanto shite

“Not as much as the one just before but he’ll properly look after the kids.”

Speaker 2: なんか現代社会の男って感じ *nanka*

gendai shakai no otoko-tte kanji “Feels

like (a man of) modern society.”

Osaka Male Group

(8) Speaker 7: 男らしくはない

otoko rashiku wa nai

“[He] is not masculine.”

何か職人堅気の人というよりはなんていうか、まあ、普通やろ

nanka shokunin keigi-no hito-to iu yori-wa nante-iu ka maa futsuu yaro

“Like rather than a respectable worker, how should I say, well normal, right?”

Finally, when asked about Ryoota as a potential father figure and husband, in general speakers thought that Yuudai would be a more pleasant father while Ryoota would probably be the better husband. Speaker 2 from the Tokyo female group was a minority voice in preferring Yuudai as a husband but did express that Ryoota would probably not be a good father and described him as “the company person” as seen in line (9). Speaker 4 from the Osaka female group stated that Ryoota would be the better husband compared to Yuudai because his way of speaking sounded much calmer. This could be due to the content in the clips in which there is an argument, but it is between both fathers. Ryoota and Yuudai are both arguing and raising their voices but only Yuudai was perceived to be irrational, aggressive, or stubborn. Lastly, a male Osaka-region speaker described Ryoota as the better prospective husband even though Yuudai would do father-like activities because Ryoota is ‘properly working’ at a company.

(9) Speaker 2: なんか旦那にするんだったら、最後に聞いた方なんですけどでもいい父親にならないと思うのは会社の人だなんて思います

*nanka danna-ni surun dattara saigo-ni kiita hou nan desu kedo demo ii
chichioya-ni naranai-to omou-nowa kaisha-no hito da-na-tte omoimasu*

“If I were to make one my husband, then the last one we heard (Yuudai),
but the one who would not be a good father is the company person I
think.”

(10) Speaker 4: 二番目の方がいい夫、一番目よりはな

んかまだ話し方が穏やかだ気がして

nibanme-no hou-ga ii otto ichibanme-yoriha

nanka mada hanashikata-ga odayaka da ki-ga shite

“The second one (Ryoota) is the good husband, rather the first. Like, it felt
like his way of speaking was calm.”

(11) Speaker 7: 父親らしい事はするけど、生活が安定するのはちゃんと働いとる
人の方

chichioya rashii koto-wa suru kedo seikatsu-ga antei suru-nowa chanto

hatarai-toru hito no hoo

“He (Yuudai) does father-like things, but the one whose lifestyle is stable
is the other who is properly working (Ryoota).”

The results of the interviews illustrated that the Osaka dialect and Tokyo dialect as used by Yuudai and Ryoota indeed gave listeners the impressions of a hands-on, affective father and a cold, distant father respectively as they were meant to be portrayed in the film. Yuudai was also perceived as lower in social class, and more masculine by all but the Tokyo men. Ryoota on the other hand was perceived as a college-graduate, elite, salaryman; almost exactly as his character was framed in the film. While Ryoota was not perceived to be as masculine as Yuudai by most, the Osaka men were clear in their perception that Ryoota not masculine indicating some differences in the perception of masculinity between Tokyo and Osaka men towards other men. Finally, of note all participants thought Yuudai would be a more pleasant father while Ryoota would offer more stability due to his good career and more rational, calm personality. Perception of the two men can be summarized as seen in Figure 6 below.

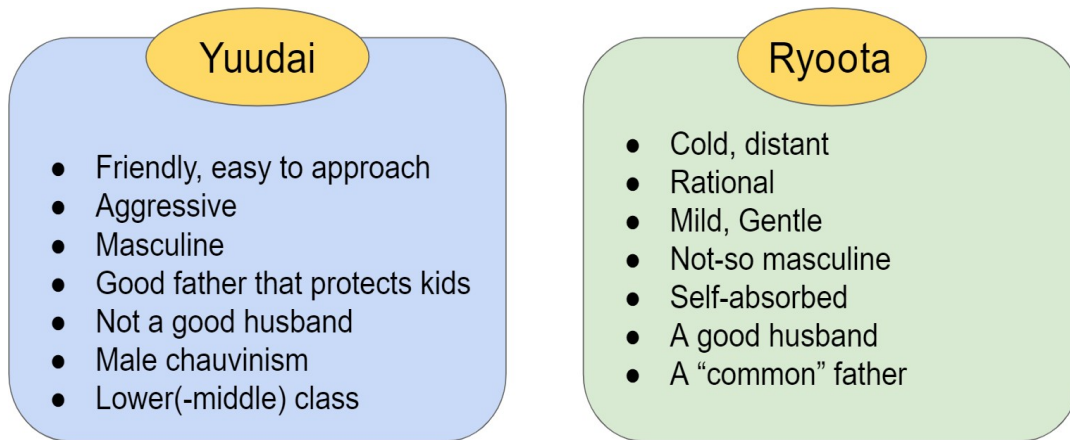


Figure 6 Summary of interviewees' perceptions of the two fathers

IV. DISCUSSION

The aim of this paper was to illustrate how a commodified language is capable of projecting new enregistered social meanings and, in this case, an affective masculine fatherhood, through a mediatized form of communication that was a regional dialect. The results of the dialect recognition survey showed that the Osaka dialect used by Yuudai was not authentic and he was most often heard as a Tokyo speaker, but only in scenes that featured he and Ryoota together did he sound more like a speaker of Osaka dialect to listeners. This supports the argument that his Osaka dialect was a tool that functioned in the film to contrast the two characters whose styles of fatherhoods were at odds. The interviews demonstrated that Japanese listeners were able to notice the dialectal difference between the two men and perceived them in similar ways the film might have intended; Yuudai was a more caring father but Ryoota, while not a warm father, was a better choice as a husband due to his stable salaryman job. In this way, Ryoota was perceived more commonly in the hegemonic sense of the traditional of salarymen father (Gill 2005, Dasgupta 2000, 2011) and Yuudai was indeed perceived as loving, hands-on father similarly to how he was described in SturtzSreetharan (2017).

Despite Yuudai's language not being consistently judged as Osaka dialect by listeners, it was still noticeable to them as demonstrated in the dialect recognition survey and the interviews. This is described as a prerequisite to enregistered status by Agha (2011b) and Johnstone (2009). For Osaka dialect to have indexable qualities in the film at all, it needed to register with Japanese audiences, and it succeeded at that, although not at all times. This provides evidence of the use of Osaka dialect as a commodity within the film. The scenes in which Yuudai and Ryoota are maximumly perceived to be Osaka and Tokyo-speakers respectively are those in which morphological and lexical items from the two dialects are most obvious but even then Yuudai was still heard more often as a Tokyo speaker than anything else. Similarly, to how Hawai'ian Creole was used in local commercials observed in Hiramoto (2011), Osaka dialect here was used just enough to get the message across but no more than that. That message, however, was affective fatherhood. As a mediatized form of communication, Osaka dialect in the film indexes Yuudai as the warm, hands-on father in contrast to Ryoota, the distant salaryman-model of a father. Creators of media must have assumed audiences would perceive the language

choices of Ryoota and Yuudai in certain ways and strategically chose Osaka dialect to contrast with Tokyo for this purpose. Osaka dialect works as the contrasting feature of speech in this case of its status as an un-stigmatized, socially salient variety of Japanese that also indexes friendliness and informality.

The Osaka dialect-speaking Yuudai was found to sound more like a hands-on, affective father while Tokyo-Standard dialect-speaking Ryoota was found to sound like the better husband rather than the better father. This is an intriguing finding as it indicates a shift in what younger Japanese people believe to be the ideal father. In the past the image of a 'good father' might have been one who was distant and often times uninvolved in family activities but was stably providing for his family with his company career. In direct opposition to this, many of the interviewees attributed Yuudai's perceived positive fatherhood to his involvement in this family and readiness to do his part around the house. What has not changed however, is the desire for a financially stable partner. Interviewees choose Ryoota as the better husband in part due to him sounding like a well-off company employee. In this way it might be possible that the Tokyo-Standard dialect that Ryoota speaks indexes a good partner in marriage which stands in agreement with Occhi, SturtzSreetharan, and Shibamoto-Smith (2010)'s argument that the ideal male partner for women is only one who spoke in a non-standard dialect when that man also had a career in the traditional arts; otherwise the ideal man speaks a dialect closer to the standard.

What's more, along the lines of masculinity, all female participants found Yuudai to sound more masculine in the traditional sense due to his perceived strength and Ryoota less so. The males' opinions however differed by region and did not give reason as to why they thought one way or the other. The Kansai-region males found Osaka-speaking Yuudai to be the more masculine and the Tokyo-region males, while not giving any clear opinions about Ryoota's masculinity, did express skepticism towards Yuudai's masculinity. This appears to point towards a regional and gender difference in the perception of masculinity. While the female interviewees judged masculinity based on traditional ideas of strength and working with their hands, the males were more critical of each other's masculinity (Tokyo men's masculinity versus Osaka men's). This finding

calls for a more in-depth analysis of the perception of dialect and masculinity along lines of region and gender on a greater scale.

In this study it seems that Osaka dialect indexes a positively perceived style of fatherhood through the process of mediatization and furthers work done in the field on the mediatization and commodification of language in general, but questions regarding perceptions of Japanese dialect still remain. It is possible the perceptions of the (in)authenticity of dialect and the perceptions of fatherhood and masculinity differ greatly by region, gender, and also age. While gender was to some extent balanced in this study, region and age was slightly skewed. Related research in the future should endeavor to recruit a greater number of listeners in different age groups and balance the variation in regions. In this way, the true extent of influences of mediatization and commodification of enregistered forms of communication on speakers can be understood. It is hoped that this study can encourage more inquiry into the ideological forces behind and the effects of language mediatization and commodification, contribute to existing work on the enregisterment of Japanese dialects, and finally demonstrate the importance of perceptual studies in media analysis.

APPENDIX A FILM DIALOGUE

Sound File Lists:

B1

Scene 39: Moderate Kansai (Yuudai visits for Keita's commencement) 31 sec

Stimulus #	Speaker	Sentence	Scene
558	雄大	は一、へー、ここか、琉晴ゆつとたけど、ほんとホテルみたいや。	39
559	雄大	おーおーおー慶太くん、めっちゃ男前やんか、これ。	39
560	雄大	どっかの国の王子様ちゃうんかこれ。	39
561	みどりの母	初めまして。	39
562	雄大	おばあちゃん、初めまして。	39

Scene 42: Strongly Kansai (Yuudai and Ryoota argue) 44 sec

Stimulus #	Speaker	Sentence	Scene
604	良多	じゃあ、2人ともこっちに譲ってくれませんか？	42
605	雄大	あ？2人って？	42
606	良多	慶多と琉晴と	42
607	雄大	そや？本気で言ってる？	42
608	良多	ええ。ダメですか？	42
609	雄大	何をいうかと思ったら	42
610	ゆかり	失礼よちょっと、何よ。	42
611	良多	子供の幸せを考えたときにですね？	42
612	ゆかり	私たちの子供が不幸だっていうの？	42
613	良多	お金ならまとまった額用意できますから。	42
614	雄大	金で買えるもんな、買えへんもんがあんねん。	42
615	雄大	おまえ、金で子供買うんか？	42
616	良多	このあいだは、誠意は金だって言ってたじゃないですか。	42
617	みどり	すみません、うちの人あんまり言葉使いが。	42

Scene 58: Moderate Kansai (Yuudai and Ryoota talk about fatherhood) 41 sec

Stimulus #	Speaker	Sentence	Scene
855	雄大	俺らの頃は、ああまあ、つってもまあ俺のことが少し上やけど。	41
856	雄大	親父がほら、竹ひごと障子紙で作ってくれて、新聞紙切って細く切って付けた足。	41
857	雄大	今日のは簡単に上がっておもろないけど、あんときは、ちゃんとあがらなくて。	41
858	良多	僕の父は子供と一緒に凧揚げをするような人じゃなかったんですよ。	41
859	雄大	でも、そんな親父のマネせんでええんとちゃうの？	41
860	雄大	琉晴とはやってあげてくれよ。	41

Part 2

Compiled Yuudai with Strongly Kansai (Scenes 39, 42, 58) 31 sec

Stimulus #	Speaker	Sentence	Scene
558	雄大	琉晴ゆっとたけど、ほんとホテルみたいや。	39
559	雄大	めっちゃ男前やんか、これ。	39
560	雄大	どっかの国の王子様ちゃうんかこれ。	39
607	雄大	そや？本気で言ってる？	42
609	雄大	何をいうかと思ったら	42
614	雄大	金で買えるもんな、買えへんもんがあんねん。	42
615	雄大	おまえ、金で子供買うんか？	42
856	雄大	親父がほら、竹ひごと障子紙で作ってくれて、	58
857	雄大	今日のは簡単に上がっておもろないけど、	58
859	雄大	でも、そんな親父のマネせんでええんとちゃうの？	58

Compiled Yuudai with Little Kansai (Scenes 29, 32) 30 sec

Stimulus #	Speaker	Sentence	Scene
446	雄大	やったことあんの？	32
449	雄大	はい、おはようございます。	32
450	雄大	慶多です。	32
451	雄大	よろしくお願いします。	32
452	雄大	これ熱いから気を付けてみんな。	32
398	雄大	慶多君その閉めて寒いから。	29
395	雄大	お一鍋さん、元気？	29
397	雄大	ああ、トイレか？じゃあ 60 でいいかな？	29
404	雄大	まだ野球やってんの？	29
405	雄大	体力あんね、その年で。	29
407	雄大	俺もう無理、ほら一足先にさ五十肩きてるから。	29
408	雄大	ほら、上がんないよ。	29
410	雄大	鍋さん頑張ってる。	29

Part 3

Compiled Ryoota (Scenes 27, 42, 58) 40 sec

Stimulus #	Speaker	Sentence	Scene
376	良多	ねえ、慶多明日さ、朝の 10 時にここ出発しようね。	27
381	良多	これはね、慶多が強くなるためのミッションなんだよね。	27
382	良多	わかる？ ミッション	27
604	良多	じゃあ、2 人ともこっちに譲ってくれませんか？	42
611	良多	子供の幸せを考えたときに	42
613	良多	お金ならまとまった額用意できますから。	42
616	良多	このあいだは、誠意は金だって言ってたじゃないですか。	42
587	良多	まあ、いろんな親子があっていいんじゃないですかね。	42
589	良多	うちは、なんでも一人でできるようにって方針なんです。	42
858	良多	僕の父は子供と一緒に風揚げをするような人じゃなかったんですよ。	58

APPENDIX B CHI-SQUARE TEST RESULTS

Perception of Yuudai vs Ryuusei Overall

		NumericalStimSpeaker		Total
		Ryuusei	Yuudai	
PercpDialect	Osaka	Count	95	223
		Expected Count	50.8	267.2
		% within PercpDialect	29.9%	70.1%
		% within NumericalStimSpeaker	54.3%	24.2%
				29.0%
	No resp	Count	16	44
		Expected Count	9.6	50.4
		% within PercpDialect	26.7%	73.3%
		% within NumericalStimSpeaker	9.1%	4.8%
				5.5%
	Other	Count	32	147
		Expected Count	28.6	150.4
		% within PercpDialect	17.9%	82.1%
		% within NumericalStimSpeaker	18.3%	16.0%
				16.3%
	Tokyo	Count	32	507
		Expected Count	86.1	452.9
		% within PercpDialect	5.9%	94.1%
		% within NumericalStimSpeaker	18.3%	55.0%
				49.2%
Total		Count	175	921
		Expected Count	175.0	921.0
		% within PercpDialect	16.0%	84.0%
		% within NumericalStimSpeaker	100.0%	100.0%
				100.0%

Perception of Yuudai vs Ryoota Overall

			Yuudai_Ryoota		Total
			Ryoota	Yuudai	
PercpDialect	Osaka	Count	5	223	228
		Expected Count	47.0	181.0	228.0
		% within PercpDialect	2.2%	97.8%	100.0%
		% within Yuudai_Ryoota	2.1%	24.2%	19.7%
	No resp	Count	7	44	51
		Expected Count	10.5	40.5	51.0
		% within PercpDialect	13.7%	86.3%	100.0%
		% within Yuudai_Ryoota	2.9%	4.8%	4.4%
	Other	Count	1	147	148
		Expected Count	30.5	117.5	148.0
		% within PercpDialect	0.7%	99.3%	100.0%
		% within Yuudai_Ryoota	0.4%	16.0%	12.8%
	Tokyo	Count	226	507	733
		Expected Count	151.0	582.0	733.0
		% within PercpDialect	30.8%	69.2%	100.0%
		% within Yuudai_Ryoota	94.6%	55.0%	63.2%
Total	Count		239	921	1160
	Expected Count		239.0	921.0	1160.0
	% within PercpDialect		20.6%	79.4%	100.0%
	% within Yuudai_Ryoota		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Perception of Yuudai vs Ryoota in Scene 42

			Ryoota	Yuudai	Total
Dialect	Osaka	Count	0	35	35
		Expected Count	17.5	17.5	35.0
		% within Dialect	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% within Yuudai/Ryoota	0.0%	50.7%	25.4%
	No resp	Count	1	3	4
		Expected Count	2.0	2.0	4.0
		% within Dialect	25.0%	75.0%	100.0%
		% within Yuudai/Ryoota	1.4%	4.3%	2.9%
	Other	Count	0	20	20
		Expected Count	10.0	10.0	20.0
		% within Dialect	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% within Yuudai/Ryoota	0.0%	29.0%	14.5%
	Tokyo	Count	68	11	79
		Expected Count	39.5	39.5	79.0
		% within Dialect	86.1%	13.9%	100.0%
		% within Yuudai/Ryoota	98.6%	15.9%	57.2%
Total	Count		69	69	138
	Expected Count		69.0	69.0	138.0
	% within Dialect		50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
	% within Yuudai/Ryoota		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Yuudai's Dialect vs Yuudai's Dialect in Scenes 15 and 32

			PercpDialect				Total
			Osaka	No resp	Other	Tokyo	
ScenesLabeled	15	Count	67	17	51	135	270
	Meeting	Expected Count	51.2	16.6	46.6	155.6	270.0
		% within	24.8%	6.3%	18.9%	50.0%	100.0%
		ScenesLabeled					
		% within PercpDialect	87.0%	68.0%	72.9%	57.7%	66.5%
		% of Total	16.5%	4.2%	12.6%	33.3%	66.5%
	32 Family	Count	10	8	19	99	136
		Expected Count	25.8	8.4	23.4	78.4	136.0
		% within	7.4%	5.9%	14.0%	72.8%	100.0%
		ScenesLabeled					
		% within PercpDialect	13.0%	32.0%	27.1%	42.3%	33.5%
		% of Total	2.5%	2.0%	4.7%	24.4%	33.5%
Total	Count	77	25	70	234	406	
	Expected Count	77.0	25.0	70.0	234.0	406.0	
	% within	19.0%	6.2%	17.2%	57.6%	100.0%	
	ScenesLabeled						
	% within PercpDialect	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	% of Total	19.0%	6.2%	17.2%	57.6%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2- sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	23.988 ^a	3	.000
Likelihood Ratio	26.273	3	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	22.122	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	406		

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 8.37.

APPENDIX C INTERVIEW FLOW AND QUESTIONS

Group Interview Questions:

The participants will be told that the purpose of the interview is to learn about fatherhood depicted in film.

Part 1: General questions about Yuudai as a person, man, and father

[Here we will play three clips identified as 'Moderate Kansai' and 'Strongly Kansai' (Scenes 39, 48, and 58 below)]

1. What do you think is happening in this scene?
この場面でどんなことが起きていると思いますか。
2. What kind of person do you think he is? Why do you think so?
この男性はどんな人だと思いますか。どうしてそう思いますか。
 - 2a. What do you think he does?
この人はどんな仕事をしていると思いますか。話している感じから想像してみてください。
 - 2b. What social class do you think he is in?
どんなタイプのランクの人でしょう。いわゆる社会的なエリートと呼ぶタイプでしょうか、それとも、違ったタイプの人でしょうか。
 - 2c. Does he sound masculine? (Friendly, Shy, Educated, Intelligent, Casual)
この人は男らしい人だと思われませんか。親切的な・教育を受けた・頭がいい・話しやすい人だと思われませんか。
3. Would he be a good husband?
夫としてはどんな人ですか。いい夫だと思われませんか。
4. What about a father?
お父さんとしてはどうですか。いい父親だと思われませんか。この人がお父さんだったらどう思いますか。
 - 4a. What is a good father? / What is a bad father?
あなた・みなさんにとって、いい父親とはどんな男の人ですか。
 - 4b. How would this person be as a father?
この人を父親として、どう思いますか。

Part 2: Variable specified as dialect

[Here we will play two compiled clips with isolated sentences that were identified as 'Very little Kansai' and 'Strongly Kansai']

1. Where is he from? - Why do you think that?
この人はどこの出身だと思いますか。どうしてそう思いますか。
2. What do you think about the man when he is speaking in this clip vs the other clip?
みなさんはこの男の人が標準語で話すのと大阪弁で話すのを聞いて、どんな印象を受けませんか。どのように違うと思いますか。

3. What kind of people use Osaka-ben, do you think? Do people who aren't from Osaka/Kansai use it? When do they use it?
どんな人が大阪弁を使うと思いますか。大阪出身じゃない人も大阪弁の表現を使いますか。どんなときに使いますか。

Part 3: Osaka Ben-Speaking Father (Yuudai) vs. Hyojungo-speaking Father (Ryoota)
[Here we will play two separate compiled clips with isolated sentences of Yuudai speaking Osaka-ben and Ryoota speaking Hyojungo respectively. The clip of Yuudai will be identical with that of Part 2.]

1. Where do you think this man is from? Why?
この人はどこの出身だと思いますか。どうしてそう思いますか。
2. What kind of man is he? Why?
この男性はどんな人だと思いますか。どうしてそう思いますか。
3. Comparing the two men and their speech styles, who do you think would be the better husband/father?
この二人の男の人とそれぞれの話し方を比べると、どちらの方がもっといい夫・父親になると思いますか。
4. How does use of Standard vs. Osaka dialect alter your impression of men in general?
標準語を話す男と大阪弁を話す男を比べると、どのような印象の違いがありますか。（どのように、印象が違いますか。）

REFERENCES CITED

- Agha, A. (2011a). Commodity registers. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 21(1), 22-53.
- Agha, A. (2011b). Meet mediatization. *Language and Communication*, 3(31), 163-170.
- Agha, A. (2007). *Language and social relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University.
- Androutsopoulos, J. (2014). Mediatization And Sociolinguistic Change. Key Concepts, Research Traditions, Open Issues. *Mediatization and Sociolinguistic Change*, 3-48.
- Bleichenbacher, L. (2012). Linguicism in Hollywood Movies? Representations of, and Audience Reactions to Multilingualism in Mainstream Movie Dialogues. *Multilingua*, 31(2-3), 76-155.
- Campbell-Kibler, K. (2007). Accent, (ING), And the Social Logic of Listener Perceptions. *American Speech*, 82(1), 32-64.
- Chun, E. W. (2013). Ironie Blackness as Masculine Cool: Asian American Language and Authenticity on YouTube. *Applied Linguistics*, 34(5), 592-612.
- Dimova, S. (2012). English in Macedonian television commercials. *World Englishes*, 31(1), 15-29.
- Eckert, P. (2008). Variation and the indexical field. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 12(4), 453-476.
- Haarmann, H. (1984). The role of ethnocultural stereotypes and foreign languages in Japanese commercials. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 1984(50), 101-122.
- Hill, J. H. (1998). Language, race, and white public space. *American Anthropologist*, 100(3), 680-689.
- Hill, J. H. (2005). Intertextuality as source and evidence for indirect indexical meanings. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 15(1), 113-124.
- Hiramoto, M. (2011). Consuming the consumers: Semiotics of Hawai'i Creole in advertisements. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages*, 26(2), 247-275.
- Hiramoto, M. (2013). Hey, you're a girl?: Gendered expressions in the popular anime, Cowboy Bebop. *Multilingua*, 32(1), 51-78.

- Hiramoto, M. (2009). Slaves speak pseudo-Toohoku-ben: The representation of minorities in the Japanese translation of *Gone with the Wind*. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 13(2), 249-263.
- Johnstone, B. (2009). Pittsburghese shirts: Commodification and the enregisterment of an urban dialect. *American Speech*, 84(2), 157-175.
- Labov, William (1972b) *Sociolinguistic Patterns*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Lee, J. S. (2006). Linguistic constructions of modernity: English mixing in Korean television commercials. *Language in Society*, 35(1), 59-91.
- Lippi-Green, R. (2011). Teaching Children How to Discriminate (What We Learn from the Big Bad Wolf). *English with an Accent: Language, Ideology and Discrimination in the United States* (2nd ed.). Routledge, 101-29.
- Lopez, Q. & Lars H. (2017). “C’mon, Get Happy”: The commodification of linguistic stereotypes in a Volkswagen Super Bowl commercial. *Journal of English Linguistics*, 45(2), 130-156.
- Miyake, Y. (1995). A dialect in the face of the standard: A Japanese case study. In *Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society* (Vol. 21, No. 1, pp. 217-225).
- Occhi, D. J., SturtzSreetharan, C. L., & Shibamoto-Smith, J. S.. (2010). Finding Mr Right: New Looks at Gendered Modernity in Japanese Televised Romances. *Japanese Studies*, 30(3), 409-425.
- Pharao, N., Maegaard, M., Møller, J. S., & Kristiansen, T. (2014). Indexical meanings of [s+] among Copenhagen youth: Social perception of a phonetic variant in different prosodic contexts. *Language in Society*, 43(1), 1-31.
- Planchenault, G. (2012). Accented French in films: Performing and evaluating in-group stylisations. *Multilingua*, 31(2), 253-175.
- Pua, P., & Hiramoto, M. (2018). Mediatization of East Asia in James Bond films. *Discourse, Context & Media*, 23, 6-15.
- Richardson, K. (2010). *Television Dramatic Dialogue: A Sociolinguistic Study*. Oxford University Press.
- Sakai, Naoki. (1992). *Voices of the Past: The Status of Language in Eighteenth-century Japanese Discourse*. Cornell University Press.
- Okamoto S. & Shibamoto-Smith, J. S.. (2016). *The Social Life of the Japanese Language: Cultural Discourses and Situated Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Shibamoto Smith, J. S., & Occhi, D. J. (2009). The Green Leaves of Love: Japanese Romantic Heroines, Authentic Femininity, and Dialect. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 13(4), 524-546.
- Silverstein, M. (1981). The Limits of Awareness. Sociolinguistics Working Paper Number 84. Southwest Educational Developmental Laboratory.
- Soshite Chichi ni Naru. Dir. Hirokazu Kore'eda. Perfs. Masaharu Fukuyama, Lily Franky, Machiko Ono. 2013. DVD. MPI Home Video. 2014.
- SturtzSreetharan, C. (2017). Resignifying the Japanese father: Mediatization, commodification, and dialect. *Language & Communication*, 53, 45-58.